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ART. XVIII.—*On Manu, the progenitor of the Aryan Indians, as represented in the hymns of the Rigveda.* By J. MUIR, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D.

[Read 1st June, 1863.]

It is well known that the ordinary theory of the Indian books, from the Institutes of Manu downwards, is, that the inhabitants of Hindūstan were originally divided into four castes, Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, who are asserted to have sprung respectively from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet, of the Creator.<sup>1</sup> It is true that in these books this theory is not consistently maintained, as we sometimes find a different origin assigned to the four classes.<sup>2</sup> In one passage, the Mahā-Bhārata (xii, 6939) even goes the length of denying that there was at first any distinction of castes, and of affirming that all the world was formed of Brāhma, and that, at a period subsequent to their creation, men became divided into classes according to their different occupations.<sup>3</sup> In another part of the same great poem (i, 3138 f.) it is declared that the “descendants of Manu became known as Mānavas (or men); that men, Brahmans, Kshattriyas, and the rest, were sprung from this Manu.”<sup>4</sup> These declarations are clearly inconsistent with the myth of the four castes having issued separately from the Creator’s body. And the derivation of mankind, or, at least of the Aryan Indians, from Manu, as their common ancestor, was evidently the

<sup>1</sup> See my “Original Sanskrit Texts,” vol. i, pp. 5 f.; 11 f.; 14 f.; 33 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 35. For an account of various families, both of Brahmans and Kshattriyas, sprung from the same human ancestors, see the same work, pp. 45 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 40. The words of the original are *na viśesho 'sti varṇānām sarvaṃ Brāhmaṇam idam jagat, Brāhmaṇā pūṛva-siśh aṃ hi karmabhir varṇatām gatam*. See also the Vāyu Purāna, cited *ibid.*, p. 29, and the passage from the Bhāgavata Purāna, quoted in p. 48, in both of which places it is declared that castes did not exist in the beginning.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 41. The original words are *Manor vamso mānavānām tato 'yam prāthito 'bhavat. Brāhma-kshattrādayas tasmād Manor jātās tu mānavāh*.

In the Sūkhyā kārīkā, verse 53, superhuman beings are said to belong to eight classes, creatures below men to five classes, but men only to one: *aṣṭa-vikalpo daivas tairyaṅ-yonutsha pañchadhā bhavati, mānuṣhyas chaika-vidhah samāsato bhautikah sargah*.

common idea of the Hindus in the Vedic period, as I shall now proceed to show.<sup>1</sup>

(1). It must, indeed, be admitted that in the Purusha Sūkta, or 90th hymn of the 10th book of the Rigveda, the ordinary myth appears to be recognized in these words (v. 12): "The Brahman was his (Purusha's) mouth, the Rājanya was made his arms, the Vaiśya was his thighs; the Sūdra sprang from his feet."<sup>2</sup> But not to insist on the allegorical character of this passage, it is to be observed that the hymn in which it occurs is justly regarded by scholars as among the most recent in the Rigveda, which contains no other statement of the same kind, whilst in various passages it speaks of Manu as the father, or progenitor, of the authors of the hymns, and of the people to whom they addressed themselves. This will appear from the following texts:—

i, 80, 16. "Prayers and hymns have been formerly congregated in that Indra, in the ceremony which Atharvan, *father Manush*, and Dadhyanch celebrated."<sup>3</sup>

i, 114, 2. "Whatever prosperity or succour *father Manu* obtained by sacrifice, may we gain it all under thy guidance, O Rudra."

ii, 33, 13. "Those pure remedies of yours, O Maruts, those which are most auspicious, ye vigorous gods, those which are beneficent, those which *our father Manu* chose, those, and the blessing and succour of Rudra, I desire."

viii, 52, 1 (Sāma, v. i, 355). "That ancient friend hath been equipped with the powers of the mighty (gods). *Father*

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks which had previously been made on this subject by Nève (Mythe des Rishnavas, pp. 69-83), who dwells at length upon the fact, which he has well illustrated, of Manu being represented in the Rigveda as the parent of mankind, or specially of the Aryas, and as the introducer of civilization. At the time (in 1847) when his work appeared, however, the first Ashtaka only of the R. V. had been published, and he was therefore unable to quote the passages relating to Manu which occur in the later books. His remarks, however valuable, do not therefore supersede the necessity of the fuller elucidation of the subject from more numerous texts, which I have here attempted. See also the late Dr. F. Windischmann's Ursagen der Arischen Völker; Kuhn's Zeitschrift für Vergl. Sprachf., iv, 83 ff; and Ad. Pictet's Origines Indo-Européennes, seconde partie, pp. 544 f., and 612-632.

<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit Texts, i, pp. 7-11.

<sup>3</sup> This verse is quoted in the Nirukta, where the words *Manush pitā* "father Manu," are explained as meaning "Manu the father of men." Sāyana interprets them as meaning "Manu the father of all creatures." In R. V., x, 82, 3, the words "our father and generator" are applied to Viśvakarman, the creator of the universe.

*Manush* has prepared hymns to him, as portals of access to the gods."<sup>1</sup>

x, 100, 5. "Through our hymn Indra has supported (our every?) joint. Brihaspati, thou art the proloner of our life. Sacrifice is *Manu*, our wise father," &c.<sup>2</sup>

viii, 30, 2, 3. "Thus ye are praised, destroyers of enemies, gods worshipped by Manu (or the *mann*, or man), ye who are three and thirty. Do ye deliver, protect, and intercede for us; do not lead us far away from the *paternal path of Manu*."

On this verse Sāyana comments thus: "Manu is the *father of all*. Father Manu journeyed along a distant path. Do not lead us away from that path. Lead us along that path on which continence, the *agnihotra* sacrifice, and other duties have always been practised. But lead us away from the path which is different from that."

As in the preceding passages Manu is spoken of as the progenitor of the worshippers, so in the following the same persons are spoken of as his descendants:

i, 68, 4 (v. 7 in Prof. Aufrecht's ed). "He (Agni) who abides among the *offspring*<sup>3</sup> of *Manu* as the invoker (of the gods), is even the lord of these riches."

The commentator here explains the offspring of Manu as the race of worshippers.

i, 96, 2. "Through the primeval invocation, the hymn of *Āyu*, he (Agni) produced these *children of the Manus*."

The commentator here identifies *Āyu* with Manu, and interprets the lines thus: "Agni, being lauded by Manu, produced this offspring of the Manus." The third verse of this hymn is as follows: "praise, ye Aryyan people, him, who is the first performer of sacrifice." We shall see, further on, that the offspring of Manu and the Aryyan race are generally, if not always, regarded as identical.

iii, 3, 6. "Agni, together with the gods, and the children (*jantubhih*) of Manush, celebrating a multiform sacrifice, with hymns," &c.

iii, 60, 3. "The Ribhus have acquired the friendship of Indra; the active grandsons of Manu (*Manor napātah*) have run (?) " &c.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for pointing out the meaning of this, to me, obscure verse; as well as for correcting my renderings of various other passages in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Compare R. V., x, 53, 6, quoted below.

<sup>3</sup> *Manor apatyē*. The Nirukta, 3, 7, gives *Manor apatyam Manusho vā* "the offspring of Manu, or Manush," as one definition of man.

"Manu" is here explained by Sāyana as meaning "man," meaning the sage Angiras.

iv, 37, 1. "Ye gods, Vājas, and Ribhukshans, come to our sacrifice by the path travelled by the gods, that ye, pleasing deities, may obtain a sacrifice among these people of Manush (*Manusho vikshu*) on auspicious days."

vi, 14, 2. "The people of Manush magnify in the sacrifices Agni the invoker."

viii, 23, 13. "Whenever Agni, lord of the people,<sup>1</sup> kindled, abides gratified among the people of Manush (*Manusho viśi*), he repels all Rakshases."

x, 80, 6. "People who are of the race of Manush (*viśo mānushih*) worship Agni. Those who are sprung from Manush and Nahush (worship) Agni."

It is also to be observed that the words *manu* and *manush* are frequently used in the Rigveda, both in the singular and plural, to denote *men*,<sup>2</sup> or rather *men of the Aryan tribes*. In the following passages the words are so used in the singular:—i, 130, 5; i, 140, 4; i, 167, 3; i, 180, 9; i, 189, 7; ii, 2, 8; iii, 26, 2; iii, 57, 4; iv, 2, 1; v, 2, 12; vii, 70, 2; viii, 27, 4; viii, 47, 4;<sup>3</sup> viii, 61, 2; viii, 76, 2; ix, 63, 8; ix, 65, 16; ix, 72, 4; ix, 74, 5; x, 25, 8; x, 40, 13; x, 99, 7; x, 104, 4; x, 110, 1, 7. In the text, x, 99, 7, the word is applied to an enemy (*druhvane manushe*).

In the next passages the same words in the plural are used for men, i, 181, 8; vii, 9, 4(?); viii, 18, 22; x, 91, 9; iv, 6, 11; v, 3, 4; x, 21, 7.

The words *mānava* (a regular derivative from *Manu*) and *mānusha* and *manushya* (which are regularly derived from *Manush*, a form peculiar to the Veda) are also of frequent occurrence in the hymns, in the sense of persons belonging to, or descended from Manu, or Manush; and would of themselves almost suffice to prove that in the Vedic age Manu was regarded as the progenitor of the people of whom these terms were descriptive. In later Sanskrit, as is well known, they are the most common words for men in general.

The adjectives *manushya*,<sup>4</sup> and *mānusha*, are also in constant use

<sup>1</sup> *Viśpati*. Compare R. V., vi, 48.8.

<sup>2</sup> See Wilson's Dict., under the word *Manu*, which, as the second sense, is said to mean "a man in general."

<sup>3</sup> *Ayash'ur manushyanya*, Sāyana.

<sup>4</sup> In iv, 1, 13, the words *asmākam atra pitaro manushyāḥ* may mean "our fathers descended from Manu."

in the Rigveda in combination with the substantive *viś*, and occasionally with the substantives *kṛishṭi*, *kshiti*, *charshani*, and *jana*, to denote people descended from Manu, or tribes of men generally. The combination *mānushīr viśah*, in one or other of its cases, is found in the following passages:—i, 148, 1; 3, 5, 3; 3, 6, 3; 4, 6, 7; 5, 8, 3; 5, 9, 3; 6, 48, 8;<sup>1</sup> 7, 5, 2; 7, 67, 7; 9, 38, 4; 10, 1, 4; 10, 69, 9; 10, 83, 2. *Charshaninām mānushinām* occurs, iv, 8, 8; *mānushinām kṛishṭinām*, i, 59, 5; vi, 18, 2; *kshītīr mānushīh*, vi, 65, 1; *mānusho janah*, v, 21, 2; vi, 2, 3; viii, 53, 10.<sup>2</sup>

In two passages (viii, 59, 11, and x, 22, 8), the word *amānusha* is applied to the Dasyus together with the other epithets, *anyavrata*, *ayajvan*, *adevayaj*, *akarmān*, *amantu*, “following other rites,” “not sacrificing,” “godless,” “without ceremonies,” “thoughtless.” The other epithets are such as apply more properly to men than to demons; and if therefore it were certain that by Dasyus in these passages were meant the aboriginal tribes, we might suppose that the word *amānusha* might as well mean “not belonging to the race of Manush,” as “not human,” or “inhuman.” In the verse preceding one of the passages I have quoted (x, 22, 7), however, this word is used as an epithet of the demon of drought, Sushna, where it must have the sense of “not human.” And in ii, 11, 10, where the word *mānushah*, applied to Indra, must have the sense of “friendly to man,” the adjective *amānusha* which is applied to the Asura Vritra, must have the opposite signification of “hostile to man.”

(11). From all that precedes, it is clear that the authors of the hymns regarded Manu as the progenitor of their race. But (as appears from many passages) they also looked upon him as the first person by whom the sacrificial fire had been kindled, and as the institutor of the ceremonial of worship; though the tradition is not always consistent on this subject. In a verse already quoted (i, 80, 16) Manu is mentioned in this way, along with Atharvan and Dadhyanch, as having celebrated religious rites in ancient times. The following further passages refer to him as the kindler of fire, and offerer of oblations:—

i, 13, 4. “O Agni, lauded, bring the gods hither in a most

<sup>1</sup> The first line of this verse is as follows: “Thou, Agni, art the household-lord (*griha-patīh*) of all the people descended from Manush” (*viśrāsām viśām mānushinām*); compare v, 8, 2; vi, 15, 1; vi, 15, 19; vii, 7, 4; viii, 23, 13; and iii, 29, 1. In vii, 5, 3, *viśah asiknīh*, “black tribes,” are mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> The words *mānushā yugā* occur in R. V., v, 52, 4; vi, 16, 23; x, 140, 6 (=S. V., 2, 1171).

pleasant chariot. Thou art the invoker (of the gods) ordained by Manush."<sup>1</sup>

i, 11, 11. "Thou, Agni, an invoker ordained by Manush, art present at the sacrifices: do thou present this our oblation." (See also R.V., iii, 2, 15.)

vi, 16, 9. "Thou art the invoker ordained by Manush, the visible bearer (of our oblations), most wise: Agni, worship the people of the sky (*divo viśah*).

viii, 19, 21. "With a hymn I laud that adorable bearer of oblations ordained by Manush,<sup>2</sup> whom the gods have sent as a ministering messenger."

viii, 34, 8. "May the adorable invoker ordained by Manu bring thee (Indra) hither among the gods," &c.

i, 36, 19. "Manu has placed (or ordained) thee (here), a light to all mankind."

ii, 10, 1. "When Agni, the invoker, like a first father (is) kindled by Manush (or man)<sup>3</sup> on the place of sacrifice," &c.

<sup>1</sup> The compound word which I have rendered "ordained by Manu" is in the original *Manur-hita*. That the sense I have given is the true one, appears, I think, from i, 36, 19, where the same root, *dhā*, from which *hita* (originally *dhita*) comes, is used, joined with the particle *ni*. The same participle *hita* is used in vi, 16, 1, where it is said, "Thou, Agni, the offerer of all sacrifices, hast been placed, or ordained, among the race of Manu by the gods." The compound *manur-hita* occurs also in the following texts, where, however, it has more probably the sense of "good for man," viz.:—i, 106, 5. "Bṛihaspati, do us always good: we desire that blessing and protection of thine which is *good for man*." (Sāyana says that here *manur-hitam* means either "placed in thee by Manu, i.e., Brahṃā," or, "favourable to man.") vi, 70, 2. "Heaven and earth, ruling over this world, drop on us that seed which is *good for man*." x, 26, 5. "He (Pūshan) who is a *kind to man*, or, *appointed by Manu*," &c.

In i, 45, 1, we have the words *yajā svaithvaram janam manu-jātam*, "worship, o Agni, the race (of gods), rich in sacrifices, *springing from Manu*," &c., which Sāyana explains, "generated by the Prajāpati Manu." Benfey, in his translation of the R. V. (Orient und Occident, i, 398, note) says that the words may mean either, in the later sense, produced by Manu, as the creator of a mundane period with all its contents, or, in the older sense, established as objects of veneration by Manu, to whom the ordering of human life appears to be ascribed in the oldest Indo-Germanic legends."

<sup>2</sup> Though the word *manur-hita* is here interpreted by Sāyana as meaning "placed by Manu Prajāpati who sacrificed," it might also signify "friendly to men," as Agni is also said to have been sent by the gods.

<sup>3</sup> The Satapatha Brāhmana (i, 4, 2, 5), quoted by Weber (Ind. Stud., i, 195), thus explains the words *devaditho Manu-viddhah*:—"The gods formerly kindled it (fire): hence it is called 'god-kindled.' Manu formerly kindled it: and hence it is called 'kindled by Manu.'" The Aitareya Brāhmana, however, explains the word *Manu-viddhah* from the fact that "*men* kindle it."

vii, 2, 3. "Like Manush, let us continually invoke to the sacrifice, Agni who was kindled by Manu."

Sāyana explains the last words as meaning "formerly kindled by the Prajāpati Manu."

vi, 10, 2. "O Agni, brilliant, very lustrous, invoker, kindled by the fires of Manush," &c. (?)

viii, 10, 2. "Or as ye (O Aświns) besprinkled the sacrifice for Manu, think in like manner of the descendant of Kaṇva."

x, 63, 7. "O ye Adityas, to whom Manu, when he had kindled the fire, presented with seven hotri priests, the first offering, together with a prayer,—bestow on us secure protection," &c.

x, 69, 3. "That lustre of thine, O Agni, which Manu, which Sumitra, kindled, is this same which is now renewed. Shine forth, thou opulent deity," &c.

i, 76, 5. "As thou, thyself a sage, didst, with the sages, worship the gods with the oblations of the wise Manu, so to-day, Agni, most true invoker, do thou worship them with a cheerful flame."

iii, 60, 6. "These days are fixed for thee (Indra), the observances of the gods, with the ordinances of Manu (or man)."<sup>1</sup> (See iii, 3, 1.)

v, 45, 6. "Come, friends, let us celebrate the ceremony . . . . whereby Manu conquered Viśiśipra," &c.

i, 139, 9. "Dadhyanh, the ancient Angiras, Priyamedha, Kaṇva, Atri, Manu, know my (Paruchhepa's?) birth; those who were before me, Manu, know it."

(Though this passage does not connect Manu with the institution of sacrifice, it may be introduced here as conveniently as elsewhere.)

iii, 3, 2. "The powerful god (Agni) hastens between the two worlds, abiding as the invoker, the priest of Manu (or man)."

iv, 26, 4. "When the swift-winged bird, borne by his own power without wheels, brought to Manu the oblation desired by the gods."

Sāyana explains this of the soma being brought from heaven to the Prajāpati Manu.

<sup>1</sup> In the following passage the words *Manusho dharimani* are interpreted by Prof. Roth as meaning "by the ordinance" of Manu (or man); but Sāyana assigns to *dhariman* the signification of "altar."

i, 128, 1. "This Agni, an adorable invoker, has been born on the sacrificial hearth of Manu (or man), for the ceremony of the worshippers, for his own ceremony. . . . The irresistible invoker hath sat down on the place of sacrifice, surrounded, on the place of sacrifice."



v, 29, 1. "They (the Maruts) have established three lights, three celestial luminaries, at the sacrifice of Manush (or man), &c. 7. Agni, a friend, quickly cooked for his friend, through the power of the latter, three hundred buffaloes. Indra drank at once three lakes (or cups) of Manush (or man), the soma which had been poured out for the slaughter of Vritra."

vi, 4, 1. "Just as, O invoker, son of strength, thou at Manush's ceremonial dost (didst?) worship the gods with sacrifices, so too to-day," &c.

*Manush* is here interpreted by Sāyana as meaning "the Prajāpati Manu who sacrificed." On iii, 26, 2, he explains the same word as meaning "man"; but the context is different. In some passages it is difficult to say whether the patriarch Manu, or man merely, is meant; and in some cases, I have given an alternative rendering. But wherever Manu is referred to as having been an example in former times, we may reasonably suppose that the patriarch is referred to. In many of the passages I have quoted under this head, however, there is no such distinct reference to ancient times; and therefore such texts ought perhaps to be classed among those formerly cited where *Manu* means simply *man*.

ix, 96, 12. "As thou, Soma, didst flow purely for Manu, source of life, destroyer of foes, dispenser of wealth, rich in offerings, so too now flow purely," &c.

vi, 15, 4. "Thou seekest Agni, your celestial guest, the sacrificial invoker for Manush (or man)," &c.

vii, 8, 2. This grand Agni has been known as the great and gladdening invoker for Manush (or man)," &c.

vii, 35, 15. "Those who are adorable among the adorable gods, objects of worship to Manu (or man), immortal, skilled in religious rites," &c.

The last words are repeated in x, 65, 14.

vii, 73, 2. "The dear invoker for Manush (or man) has been placed," &c.

x, 36, 10. "Ye who are the objects of worship to Manu (or man), hear us: give us, O gods, that which we seek."

See viii, 30, 2, above, p. 408.

x, 51, 5. "Come (O Agni) a pious Manu, desirous of sacrifice, having made preparations. Thou dwellest in darkness, Agni, make easy paths leading to the gods (or, for the gods to travel); carry away our oblations with good will."

Compare x, 100, 5, above, p. 408.

x, 53, 6. "Spinning the thread, follow the light of the sky.

Keep the luminous paths formed by the understanding (or, the hymn). Weave ye a smooth work of the encomiasts. Be a Manu, and generate the divine race."

This verse is translated and explained by Prof. Müller in his article on the "Funeral rites of the Brahmans," in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society* for 1855, p. xxii. I need not refer to the rest of his explanation, which does not bear upon the present subject. I will merely quote his interpretation of the last clause: "Be Manu, *i.e.*, do like Manu (*manush-vat*) who first kindled the sacrificial fire, and generate the divine man, *i.e.*, Agni."

x, 66, 12. Let us become *Manus*, *i.e.*, imitators of Manu(?) for your worship," &c.

There is also a class of passages in which the example of Manush is referred to by the phrase *manush-vat*, "like Manush," or, "as in the case of Manush." Thus in i, 44, 11, it is said, "Divine Agni, we place thee, like Manush," &c.

v, 21, 1. "Agni, we place thee like Manush, we kindle thee like Manush. Agni, Angiras, worship the gods like Manush, for him who adores them."

viii, 27, 7. "We invoke thee, Varuna, having poured out Soma, and having kindled fire, like Manush."

viii, 43, 13. "Like Bhṛigu, like Manush, like Angiras, we invoke thee, Agni, who hast been summoned to blaze." . . . 27. "Agni, most like to Angiras, whom men kindle like Manush, attend to my words."

See also i, 31, 17; i, 46, 13; i, 105, 13, 14; ii, 5, 2; ii, 10, 6; iii, 17, 2; iii, 32, 5; iv, 34, 3; iv, 37, 3; vii, 11, 3; x, 70, 8; x, 110, 8.

The *Satapatha Brahmana*, i, 5, 1, 7 (quoted by Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, i, 195), explains thus the word *Manush-vat*:—"Manu formerly sacrificed with a sacrifice. Imitating this, these creatures sacrifice. He therefore says, *Manushvat*, 'like Manu.' Or, he says 'like Manu,' because men speak of the sacrifice as being Manu's."<sup>1</sup>

Manu is not, however (as I have above intimated), always spoken of in the hymns, as the first, or only, kindler of fire. In i, 80, 16, already quoted, Atharvan and Dadhyanch are mentioned along with him as offerers of sacrifice.

<sup>1</sup> The same work in the same passage thus explains the phrase, *Bharata-vat*. "He bears (*bharati*) the oblation to the gods; wherefore men say, *Bharata* (or 'the bearer') is Agni. Or, he is called *Bharata* (the 'sustainer') because, being breath, he sustains these creatures." This phrase may, however, refer to the example of King Bharata. See below, p. 425.

In the following verses Atharvan is mentioned as having generated fire:—

vi, 15, 17. "The wise draw forth this Agni, as Atharvan did," &c.

vi, 16, 13, (= S. V, 1, 9; Vāj. Sanh. xi, 32). "Agni, Atharvan drew thee forth from the lotus leaf," &c. 14. "Thee the rishi Dadhyanch, son of Atharvan, kindled," &c.

In the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, the first of these verses is immediately preceded by the following (xi, 32): "Thou art adorable, all-sustaining. Atharvan was the first who drew thee forth, Agni."

Again it is said in the Rigv. x, 21, 5. "Agni, produced by Atharvan, knows all hymns, and has become the messenger of Vivasvat."

Again Atharvan is thus mentioned: i, 83, 5. "Atharvan was the first who by sacrifices opened up the paths; then the friendly Sun, the protector of rites, was produced," &c. x, 92, 10. "Atharvan, the first, established (the worship of the gods?) with sacrifices. The divine Bhrigus by their wisdom followed the same course."<sup>1</sup>

The next text of the Rigveda speaks of the Bhrigus as the institutors of sacrifice by fire:—

i, 58, 6. "The Bhrigus have placed thee, o Agni, among men, as an invoker, beautiful as riches, and easily invoked for men," &c.

ii, 4, 2. "Worshipping him (Agni) in the receptacle of waters, they placed him among the people of Ayu."

x, 46, 2. "Worshipping and desiring him with prostrations, the wise and longing Bhrigus have followed him with their steps, like a beast who had been lost, and have found him concealed in the receptacle of waters." (i, 65, 1).

vi, 15, 2. "Thee (Agni) whom, residing in the tree, the Bhrigus have placed, adorable and high-flaming, like a friend," &c.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the following texts also Atharvan and Dadhyanch are spoken of, viz.:— i, 116, 12; i, 117, 22; i, 119, 9; vi, 47, 24; ix, 103, 4; x, 14, 6; x, 48, 2; x, 87, 12.

<sup>2</sup> In the following passages also the Bhrigus are mentioned as connected with the worship of Agni:—

i, 60, 1. "Mātariśvan has brought Agni . . . a friend to Bhrigu."

i, 127, 7. "When the Bhrigus, uttering hymns, aspiring to the sky, making obeisance, worshipped him (Agni),—the Bhrigus drawing him forth from the wood, &c."

i, 143, 4. "Whom (Agni) the Bhrigus have obtained, the source of all wealth," &c.

In other places the gods, as well as other sages, are mentioned as the introducers of fire:—

i, 36, 10. "Thou, O bearer of oblations, whom the gods placed here as an object of adoration to Manu (or man); whom Kanva, whom Medhyātithi, whom Vṛishan, whom Upastuta (have placed) a bringer of wealth," &c. Compare vi, 16, 1, quoted above, p. 411, note.

x, 46, 9. "Mātariśwan and the gods have established, as the earliest adorable object of worship to Manu (or man), that Agni whom heaven and earth, whom the waters, whom Twashtṛi, whom the Bhṛigus, have generated by their powers."<sup>1</sup>

iii, 5, 10. "When Mātariśwan kindled for the Bhṛigus Agni, the bearer of oblations, who was in concealment."

iv, 7, 1. "Whom (Agni) Apnavāna and the Bhṛigus kindled," &c.

viii, 43, 13 (see above, p. 414).

viii, 91, 4. "Like Anuvabhṛigu, like Apnavāna, I invoke thee, pure Agni, who abidest in the ocean."

x, 122, 5. "The Bhṛigus kindled thee by their hymns."

See also i, 71, 4; iii, 2, 4; viii, 43, 13 (above p. 414); i, 148, 1.

<sup>1</sup> In his illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 112, Professor Roth, in explaining the text R. V., vi, 8, 4 ("Mātariśwan, the messenger of Vivaswat, brought Agni Vaiśwānara from afar") makes the following interesting observations on the Vedic conceptions regarding the genesis of fire: "The explanation of Mātariśwan as Vāyu" (which is given by Yāska) "cannot be justified by the Vedic texts, and rests only upon the etymology of the root *śvas*. The numerous passages where the word is mentioned in the R. V. exhibit it in two senses. Sometimes it denotes Agni himself, as in the texts i, 96, 3, 4; iii, 29, 4 (117); x, 114, 1, &c.; at other times, the being who, as another Prometheus, fetches down from heaven, from the gods, the fire which had vanished from the earth, and brings it to the Bhṛigus, i, 60, 1; i, 93, 6; iii, 2, 13; iii, 5, 10; iii, 9, 5. To think of this bringer of fire as a man, as a sage of antiquity, who had laid hold of the lightning, and placed it on the altar and the hearth, is forbidden by those texts which speak of him as bringing it from heaven, not to mention other grounds. As Prometheus belongs to the superhuman class of Titans, and is only by this means enabled to fetch down the spark from heaven, so must Mātariśwan be reckoned as belonging to those races of demigods, who, in the Vedic legends, are sometimes represented as living in the society of the gods, and sometimes as dwelling upon earth. As he brings the fire to the Bhṛigus, it is said of these last, that they have communicated fire to men (*e.g.*, in i, 58, 6), and Agni is called the son of Bhṛigu (*Bhṛigurāga*). Mātariśwan also must be reckoned as belonging to this half-divine race. I am not disposed to lay any stress on the fact, that in the passage before us (vi, 8, 4) he is called the messenger of Vivaswat; but to conjecture that the verse has become corrupt in the course of tradition, as Agni himself is elsewhere called the messenger of Vivaswat, the heavenly light (iv, 7, 4; viii, 39, 3, and elsewhere); and the same sense can be obtained here by the slight alteration of *dātāh* into *dātām*." (The sense thus becomes: 'Mātariśwan brought from afar Agni Vaiśwānara, the messenger of Vivaswat.') "Of these two senses of the word Mātariśwan to which I have above alluded, the first, according to which it denotes fire itself, appears to

But to return to Manu. Although the distinction of having been the first to kindle fire is thus, in various passages, ascribed to Atharvan or the Bhṛigus, none of these personages is ever brought forward as disputing with Manu the honour of having been the progenitor of the Aryan race. In this respect the Vedic tradition exhibits no variation.

(III). The following passages represent Manu (or, perhaps in most cases, the Aryan man in general) as being the object of some special favour or intervention on the part of some of the gods:—

i, 31, 3. "Agni, thou, the first, didst become manifest to Mātariśwan, and to Vivaswat through desire of sacrifice, &c. 4. Agni, thou didst reveal the sky to Manu, to the pious Purūravas, (thyself) more pious," &c.

On this passage Benfey remarks: "Vivaswat (the remover of night, a being who stands in the closest connection with the Sun) wished to sacrifice, and chose fire for the accomplishment of the sacrifice. Manu is the son of the Vivaswat mentioned in the foregoing verse, who instituted (i, 14, 11) for mankind the fire which his father had chosen for sacrifice."

i, 112, 16. "Come, Aświns, with those succours whereby, O heroes, ye sought out a path (of deliverance) for Śāyu, for Atri, and formerly for Manu, whereby ye shot arrows for Syūmarasni . . . 18, whereby ye preserved the hero Manu with food."<sup>1</sup>

me to be the original one. Fire is swelling in his mother (*mātari*), proceeding forth from her (from the root *āt*, *svi*, Benfey's Gloss., p. 147), whether we regard this mother as the storm-cloud, or as the wood (*arati*) from which by friction smoke, sparks, and flames proceed. It may also be mentioned that the same function of bringing down fire is ascribed in one text (vi, 16, 13) to Atharvan, whose name is connected with fire, like that of Mātariśvan; and also that the sisters of Atharvan are called Mātariśwaris in x, 120, 9."

<sup>1</sup> In none of the passages hitherto adduced is any epithet except "father," or "hero" applied to Manu.

In the 4th Vāṅkhyā, following R. V., viii, 48, however, this verse (the first) occurs:—"As in the case of Manu Vivaswat (*Manau Vivaswati*) thou, Sakra, didst drink the Soma which had been poured forth," &c. (see Roth in Z. D. M. G., iv, 431). Manu Sāmvarani is similarly mentioned in the first verse of the 3rd Vāṅkhyā.

And in the following passage a personage called Manu Sāvarni, who appears to have been a contemporary of the author of the hymn, is celebrated for his generosity:—

x, 62, 8. "Let this Manu now increase; let him shoot up like a sprout,—he who straightway lavishes for a gift a thousand, a hundred horses. 9. No one equals him, who reaches at it were the summit of the sky. The liberality of the son of Savarnā is wide as the sea. 11. Let not Manu, the leader of the people, who bestows thousands, suffer injury. Let his bounty go on vying with the

This passage, as far as it concerns Manu, is thus explained by Sāyana: "And with those succours, whereby ye made a path, a road which was the cause of escape from poverty, by sowing barley and other kinds of grain, &c., for Manu, the royal rishi of that name; according to another text" (i, 117, 21). In his note on verse 18, Sāyana adds that the grain had been concealed by the earth.

i, 117, 21. "Sowing barley with the plough, ye potent Aświns, milking forth food for Manusha (or man), blowing away the Daśyu with the thunderbolt, ye have made a broad light for the Aryya."

Sāyana says, that the term *manusha* in this passage is a synonym of Manu, and connects with it the word *āryya* as an epithet.<sup>1</sup> The next passage refers to the same legend:—

viii, 22, 6. "Succouring Manu (or man), ye (Aświns) cultivate with the plough the primeval barley in the sky," &c. According to Sāyana, Manu here means a "king of that name."

(The same expression, "seeking out a path for Manu," which we have found in i, 112, 16, occurs in another passage:—

sun. May the gods prolong the life of the son of Savarnā; during which let us enjoy food."

In this passage this Manu is represented as the son of Savarna, or Savarnā. In R. V., x, 17, 1, 2, the word Savarnā occurs, but it appears to be rather an epithet of the wife of Vivasvat, than her name.

"1. Tvashtri makes a marriage for his daughter. This whole world assembles. The mother of Yama, being married, became the wife of the mighty Vivasvat. 2. They concealed her, the immortal, from mortals: making her of the same colour or nature (*savarnā*), they gave her to Vivasvat," &c.

In later Indian mythology, Yama and Manu are regarded as brothers, the sons of Vivasvat, or the sun, by his wife Sanjñā. The Manu Sāvarni is, however, said to be another son of Vivasvat, begotten by him on another wife, Chhāyā, along with Śanaishchāra and Tapati. Wilson's Vishnu. Pur., p. 266. This Manu Sāvarni is, according to the same authority, said to preside over the future eighth Manvantara, and takes his appellation of Sāvarni from being of the same caste (*Savarna*) as his elder brother, the Manu Vaivasvata (p. 267).

<sup>1</sup> This verse is quoted in the Nirukta, vi, 26, and is explained by Roth in his illustrations of that work, p. 92. He remarks:—"It appears to me that the explanation of the word *mrīka* (wolf), as meaning 'plough,' though in itself possible . . . is, nevertheless, a rationalistic one, and that we rather have here an allusion to some myth. In viii, 22, 6, also we read, "For the pleasure of man ye have formerly in heaven ploughed barley with the wolf. . . . That *dhamantā* has here its proper sense (of 'blowing'), and consequently refers to a particular trait of the legend which is not otherwise known to us, cannot admit of doubt, if we compare ix, 1, 8, *dhamanti bākuraṃ d. itṃ*, 'they blow the crooked (?) skin.' *Bakura*, perhaps, denotes a crooked wind-instrument, which the Aświns employed to terrify their enemies, and *bākura*, as an epithet of the skin, might designate one in the shape of a *bakura*."

v, 30, 7. "When, seeking out a path for Manu (or man), thou didst overturn the head of the Dāsa Namuchi.")

The following passages also refer to favours shown by the gods to Manu or man:—

x, 76, 3. "This is his oblation. May he remove sin. Let him run his course, as formerly for Manu," &c.

x, 104, 8. "Thou foundest the ninety-nine streams as a path for the gods for Manu (or man)," &c.

i, 165, 8. "I, bearing the thunderbolt, have made for Manu (or man) these all-gleaming, flowing waters."

iv, 28, 1. "With thee for a companion, Soma, and in thy fellowship, Indra then made the waters to flow for Manu (or man)," &c.

v, 31, 6. "I declare, Maghavat, the earlier deeds, and the latter (acts), which thou hast performed, when thou, O mighty one, didst sustain both worlds, conquering for Manu' (or man) the gleaming waters."

i, 166, 13. "With this (favourable) disposition, having lent an ear to Manu (or man), those heroes (the Maruts) became known at once by their mighty acts."

iii, 34, 4. "He (Indra) kindled for Manu (or man) the brightness of the days; he discovered a light for the great conflict."

vi, 49, 13. "Vishnu, who thrice measured the terrestrial regions for Manu when distressed."

Sāyana interprets this of "Manu the Prajāpati, when injured by Asuras;" but gives no further explanation.

vii, 100, 4. "This Vishnu strode over this earth, bestowing it on Manush (or man) for an abode."

(Compare i, 100, 18; ii, 20, 7.)

vii, 91, 1. "They (the gods) displayed the dawn with the sun to Vāyu and Manu when distressed."

viii, 15, 5. "Exulting with that exhilaration, whereby thou didst discover the luminaries to Āyu, and to Manu, thou art lord of this sacrificial grass."

Sāyana explains Āyu as the son of Urvaśi, and Manu as the son of Vivasvat, and says that Indra disclosed the heavenly lights by driving away Vṛittra, &c., who concealed them.

x, 43, 4. "The light of them (the Soma libations?) has shone forth with power. The heaven hath disclosed a noble light to Manu (or man). . . . . 8. Maghavat has discovered a light for the Manu or man who presents libations, who is prompt in liberality, and who offers sacrifice."

viii, 27, 4. "May all the (gods) possessors of all wealth, and

repellers of foes, be a cause of prosperity to Manu (or man). . . .

21. O ye possessors of all wealth, confer riches on the wise Manu (or man) who offers oblations."

Sāyana explains Manu in the 4th verse, as "the worshipper," and in the 21st verse, as "a rishi of that name," viz., the speaker himself.

x, 11, 3. "Beneficent, vigorous, renowned, glorious, Ushas dawned for Manu, when for the sacrifice they generated the ardent Agni for the work of the eager worshippers."

(IV). In the following passages Manu or his descendants appear to be placed in opposition to the Dasys (whether we understand the latter of aboriginal tribes, or hostile demons), and identified with the Aryan race:—

i, 130, 8. "Indra who bestows a hundred succours in all battles, in heaven-conferring battles, has preserved in the conflict the sacrificing Arya. Chastising the neglectors of religious rites, he has subjected the black skin to Manu."

Compare i, 117, 21, above.<sup>1</sup>

ii, 20, 6. "May the most mighty god, renowned as Indra, be exalted for the sake of Manu. Self-reliant, may he violently overturn the dear head of the destructive Dāsa. 7. This Indra, the slayer of Vṛitra, the destroyer of cities, scattered the Dasyu (hosts) sprung from a dark womb. He produced for Manu the earth and the waters; at once he fulfilled the desire (or, he always strengthens the renown) of his worshipper."

iv, 26, 1. "I was Manu, and the Sun; I am the wise rishi Kashivat. I subdue Kutsa the son of Arjuni; I am the sage Uśanas; behold me. 2. I gave the earth to the Āryya; I (gave) rain to the sacrificing mortal. I have led the sounding waters; the gods followed my will."

Indra is supposed to be the speaker in these verses. Sāyana understands the word *āryya* of Manu. See Sanskrit texts, vol. ii, p. 376, and note.

vi, 21, 11. "Do thou, a wise god, the son of strength, approach my hymn with all the adorable (deities); who have Agni on their tongues, who frequent religious rites, and who made Manu superior to the Dāsa."

viii, 87, 6. "For thou, Indra, art the destroyer of all the cities, the slayer of the Dasyu, the promoter of Manu, the lord of the sky."

ix, 92, 5. "Let this (spot) where all the poets have assembled,

<sup>1</sup> The same contrast is drawn between the *Āyus* and *Dasys* in vi, 14, 3:—  
"Overcoming the Dasyu, the *Āyus*, by rites seeking to vanquish the rite-less."



be truly the abode of the pure god (Soma): since he has made light and room for the day, has protected Manu, and repelled the Dasyu."

(Compare iii, 34, 9: "Having slain the Dasyu, he has protected the Aryyan colour.")

x, 49, 7. "I (Indra) move around, borne with power by the swift steeds of the Sun. When this libation of Manu summons me to splendour, I drive away with my blows the vigorous Dāsa."

x, 73, 7. "Thou didst slay Namuchi seeking the sacrifice, making the Dāsa devoid of guile to the rishi. Thou didst make for Manu beautiful paths leading as it were straightway to the gods."<sup>1</sup>

In the set of passages last quoted, the descendants of Manu appear, as I have said, to be identified with the Aryyan Indians, and to be contrasted with the Dasys, or enemies of the Aryyas, whether we regard these enemies as being the aboriginal tribes, or as terrestrial or aerial demons.

The descendants of Manu are, as we have seen, spoken of as worshippers of the gods, as those among whom Agni has taken up his abode.

Frequent mention is also made in the Rigveda of five tribes, under the appellations of *pancha-janāḥ*, *pancha-kṛishṭayāḥ*, *pancha-kshitayāḥ*, &c. These five tribes are often alluded to as worshippers of Agni, and the other Aryyan deities. Unless, therefore, we are to suppose that these deities were adored by non-Aryyan as well as Aryyan races, it would appear to result that, whenever the five tribes are spoken of as worshippers of these gods, they must be regarded as identical with the Aryyas, or the descendants of Manu; of whom they would thus represent a five-fold division. The grounds which exist for this conclusion will be seen from a comparison of the following passages, which I shall quote as the basis of my remarks:—

The term *pancha-kṛishṭayāḥ* is that employed in the first set of texts which I shall adduce:—

ii, 2, 10. "May our glory shine aloft over the *five tribes*, like the Sun, unsurpassable."<sup>2</sup>

iii, 53, 16. "May the goddess who ranges everywhere quickly bring to us food more than there is among the *five tribes*."

<sup>1</sup> This verse is translated by Prof. Benfey in his glossary to the Sāma veda under the word *Namuchi*.

<sup>2</sup> In iii., 49, 1, mention is made not of the five tribes, but of *all* the tribes: 'Praise the great Indra, in whom *all the tribes* who drink soma have obtained their desire.'

iv, 38, 10 (Nirukta, x, 31). "Dadhikrā has pervaded the *five tribes* with his might, as the waters with light."

The same words, with the omission of Dadhikrā, occur, x, 178, 3 (Nir., x, 29).

vi, 46, 7. "Indra, whatever strength, or power, there is in the tribes of Nahush (*nāhushishu kṛishishu*), or whatever glory belongs to the *five tribes*, bring it (for us); yea, all energies together."

x, 119, 6. "The *five tribes* appeared to me (Indra) not even as a mote."<sup>1</sup>

In the verses next to be quoted, the term *pancha kshitayah* is employed:—

i, 7, 9. "That Indra, who alone rules over men and riches, over the *five tribes*."

i, 176, 3. "In whose hands are all the riches of the *five tribes*."

v, 35, 2. "Whether, Indra, four (tribes) or, O hero, three (tribes) are thine; or whatever succour belongs to the *five tribes*, bring that to us."

vii, 75, 4. "She (Ushas) arriving from far, straightway encircles the *five tribes*."

vii, 79, 1. "Ushas hath dawned salutary to men, awaking the *five tribes of Manush* (*pañcha kshītir mānushih*)."<sup>2</sup> This verse is important as actually connecting the *five tribes* with the word *mānushih*. In Atharva veda, iii, 24, 2, we have in like manner *mānavih pañcha kṛishṭayah*.

The phrase employed in the next verse is *pancha mānushāḥ*:—

viii, 9, 2. "Whatever grandeur there is in the firmament, in the sky, or among the *five tribes of Manush* (*pancha mānushān am*), confer all that on us, Aświns."

In the Atharva veda we find *pancha-mānavāḥ*. Thus in v, 17, 9, it is said:—"The Brahman is the master, and not the Rājanya, or the Vaiśya. This the Sun goes declaring to the *five tribes of Manu*." And in xii, 1, 15, it is said:—"Thine, O earth, are these *five tribes of Manu*, to whom, mortals, the Sun, rising, conveys undying light by his rays."

*Pancha-janāḥ* is the term used in the following passages:—

i, 89, 10. "Aditi is the *five tribes*," &c.

iii, 37, 9. "I desire, Indra Śatakratu, those powers of thine which are in the *five tribes*."

<sup>1</sup> I here follow Prof. Roth's rendering in his Dictionary, ii, 1077, under the root 2 *chhad*. In the Atharvaveda, xii, 1, 42, the words, these *five tribes*, also occur.

iii, 59, 8. "The *five tribes* have done homage (?) to Mittra, who is mighty to succour."

vi, 2, 4. "Agni, whom, abounding in oblations, the *five tribes*, bringing offerings, honour with prostrations, as if he were a man (*āyuna* na)."

Sāyana here defines the five tribes as "priests and offerers of sacrifices" (*ritvig-yajamāna-laxanāh*).

viii, 32, 22. "From far pass by the three (points?), pass by the *five tribes*, Indra, beholding the cows."

ix, 65, 23. "Or those (Soma-libations) which (have been poured out) among the *five tribes*."

ix, 92, 3. "May he (Soma) delight in all the hymns. The wise god seeks (?) the *five tribes*."

x, 45, 6. "He (Agni), travelling afar, clove even the strong mountain, when the *five tribes worshipped Agni*."

In the following texts the five tribes are denoted by *pañcha charshanayāh* :—

v, 86, 2. "We invoke Indra and Agni who (dwell) among the *five tribes*."

vii, 15, 2. "The wise and youthful master of the house (Agni) who hath taken up his abode among the *five tribes* in every house."

ix, 101, 9. "Who (Indra) is (salutary?) to the *five tribes*."

The expression *pañcha bhūma* is used in the next quotation :—

vii, 69, 2. "Extending over the *five tribes*, let your three-seated and yoked car, O Aświns, wherewith ye visit the worshipping peoples, approach through our prayer," &c.

The word *bhūma* occurs also in ii, 4, 27.

In vi, 61, 12, Saraswati is spoken of as "augmenting or prospering the *five tribes*," here expressed by *pañcha jātā*.

In viii, 52, 7, it is said: "When shouts were uttered to Indra by the people of the *five tribes*" (*pañcha-janyayā viśā*), &c.

In R. V., i, 117, 3, Atri is styled *ṛishim pāñchajanyam*, "a rishi belonging to the *five tribes*. In v, 32, 11, the epithet *satpatih pāñchajanya* is applied to Indra. And in ix, 66, 20, Agni is called the purified rishi, the priest of the *five races* (*pāñchajanyaḥ purohitah*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Mahābhārata, iii, 14160, as referred to by Roth under *jina*, where the birth of a being of five colours, apparently a form of Agni, is described, who was generated by five rishis, and who was known as the god of the five tribes (*pāñchajanya*) and the producer of five races.

In some cases the *pañchanāh* seem to be gods, as in the following verses :—

x, 53, 4, 5. "Ye five tribes, who eat food, and are worthy of adoration, favour-

Now it is true that in many of the preceding texts, viz., in ii, 2, 10; iii, 53, 16; iv, 38, 10; vi, 46, 7; x, 119, 6; i, 7, 9; i, 176, 3; v, 35, 2; vii, 75, 4; vii, 79, 1; viii, 9, 2; i, 89, 10; iii, 37, 9 (pp. 421, 422), there is nothing to show that the five tribes must be identified with the Aryyas; though, on the other hand, it does not appear to me that there is anything to forbid this identification. But in many of the passages which follow these (p. 423), the five tribes are spoken of as worshipping some of the Aryyan gods, or the latter are said to have taken up their abode among the five tribes, or to be their patrons.

In regard to these *pañchajanāḥ* Yāska, however, remarks as follows:—Nirukta, iii, 8, "Some say the word denotes the (five classes of beings called) Gandharvas, Pitṛis, Devas, Asuras, and Raxases. Aupamanyava says it designates the four castes, with the Nishādas for a fifth class." This explanation of the word can scarcely be correct as regards its ordinary application to men; as we have just seen that the five tribes or classes of men were all such as were admitted to join in the worship of Agni and the other gods, and therefore could not have included the Nishādas, who were outcasts.

On the same subject, Prof. Roth remarks as follows in his dictionary under the word *krishṭi*:—"The *five races* is a designation of *all nations*, not merely of the Aryyan tribes. It is an ancient enumeration, of the origin of which we find no express explanation in the Vedic texts. We may compare the fact that the cosmical spaces or points of the compass are frequently enumerated as *five* (especially in the following text of the A.V., 3, 24, 2:—'these five regions; the five tribes sprung from Manu'); among which we should have here to reckon as the fifth region the one lying in the middle (*dhruvā dik*, A.V., 4, 14, 8; 18, 3, 34), that is, to regard the Aryyas as the central point, and round about them the nations of the four regions of the world. . . . According to the Vedic usage, five cannot be regarded as designating an indefinite number."

In the Veda a strong line is drawn between the sacrificers  
ably receive my oblation." See Nirukta, iii, 8, and Roth's illustrations, p. 28. See also x, 55, 2, 3, where the phrases *prajāḥ pañcha*, and *pañcha devāḥ* occur.

x, 60, 4. "In whose worship Ikshvāku prospers, wealthy and victorious, like the *five tribes* in the sky (*divīṇa pañcha krishṭayuh*).

In iii, 20, 4, mention is made of the "divine peoples" (*kṣhitinām daivīnam*;) and in vi, 16, 9 (see above, p. 411), the words *divo viśah*, "people of the sky," occur.

In Atharva veda, xi, 2, 9, there is a fivefold division of animals:—"Thy (Rudra Paśupati's) five sorts of animals are thus divided, kine, horses, men (*purushāḥ*), goats, and sheep."

(*yajamāna*, *devayū*, &c), and the non-sacrificers (*avṛata*, *apavṛata*, *anya-vṛata*, *adevayū*, &c). Now, the descendants of Manu appear, as we have seen, to be generally identified with the Āryas, and with the worshippers of Agni, Indra, &c.; and the five tribes again seem, very frequently at least, to represent the very same classes of persons, and to be described as adherents of the same divinities. It is therefore difficult to perceive the propriety of Roth's conclusion, that the words *pancha janāḥ*, *pancha kṛishṭayāḥ*, &c., as commonly employed in the hymns of the R̥gveda, are mere general designations for the whole of mankind. Unless these *five tribes* are identified with the Āryas, it is not easy to see what portion of the inhabitants of India at least they can be held to designate, as those inhabitants appear so distinctly to be divided into worshippers and enemies of the gods, and it is scarcely conceivable that persons not of Aryan extraction, or, at least persons who were not incorporated with the Aryan tribes, should have been recognised as members of the same religious community, and sharers in the same institutions. Roth, indeed, speaks, in the extract I have made from his lexicon, of a portion of the *pancha kṛishṭayāḥ* as foreign nations living around the Āryas; but as we have seen, many of the passages I have quoted above seem to regard them as forming part of the Indian people. It may be, however, that the term is sometimes used in a stricter sense of the Aryan tribes, and at other times extended to mankind in general.

The expression *pancha-mānavāḥ* occurs also in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 13, 5, 4, 14, in an old verse celebrating a sacrifice of King Bharata.<sup>1</sup> "Neither former nor later men of the five tribes sprung from Manu have equalled this great ceremony of Bharata, just as no mortal has reached the sky with his arms." With the phrase *pancha-mānavāḥ* here employed, Weber (*Indische Studien*, i, 202) compares the expression *pancha-janāḥ*, which, as he there states, has been referred by Kuhn (in the *Hall. Allg. Lit. Z.*, 1846, p. 1086) to the five tribes pointed out by Roth (*Lit. and Hist. of the Veda*, p. 131 f.) as existing in the Panjab. These five tribes, the Anus, Druhyus, Pūrus, Turvasas, and Yadus, are mentioned in several parts of the R̥gveda. Of these names the Anus are explained by Roth in his dictionary (under the word) as, "according to the Nighantu, 2, 3, denoting men in general, but as being in the Veda limited to the designation of remote peoples, strangers to the Āryas, and as only apparently (not really) signifying a particular race, when it is joined with other appellatives, such as

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 411, note.

Turvasa, Druhyu, &c., to distinguish more clearly the varieties of nations and places." In a later part of his work, however, Roth speaks of Turvasa as being "the name of an Aryyan tribal hero or patriarch, and of the tribe itself, which is frequently mentioned in the Rîgveda, and appears to be nearly related to the family of Kaṇva, and is commonly connected with Yadu."

It seems, however, difficult to dissociate the Anus from the Turvasas, and to suppose the one to have been Aryyan and the other non-Aryyan. The five tribes in question appear to be closely connected in the following verse:—

i, 108, 8. "If, O Indra and Agni, ye are among the Yadus, Turvasas, Druhyus, Anus, Pūrus, come hither, vigorous heroes, from all quarters, and drink the soma which is poured forth."

There is another word employed in the Rîgveda to designate some portion of mankind, viz., *nahush*. We have already met with this term in a verse (x, 80, 6) quoted above, p. 409, where it is closely connected with Manush, and the adjective derived from it occurs in vi, 46, 7 (p. 422), where the tribes of Nahush rather appear to be distinguished from the five tribes, whom we may suppose to be those of Manush. This word Nahush, or its derivative, *Nahusha*, is also to be found in the following texts:—i, 31, 11; v, 12, 6; vi, 22, 10; vi, 26, 7; vii, 6, 5; ii, 95, 2; viii, 8, 3; viii, 46, 27; ix, 101; x, 49, 8; x, 80, 6; x, 99, 7.

Roth (s. v.) regards the people designated by the word *nahush* as denoting men generally, but with the special sense of 'stranger, or neighbour, in opposition to members of the speaker's own community; and he explains the words of x, 80, 6, referred to above (p. 409), as signifying "the sons of our own people, and of those who surround us."

If, however, the descendants of Manush in that passage are understood as embracing all the Aryyas, and the descendants of Nahush are separate from the latter, it would follow that Agni was worshipped by tribes distinct from the Aryyas. The descendants of Nahush, are, in fact, distinctly spoken of in x, 80, 6 (the passage just referred to), as worshippers of Agni; in i, 31, 11, it is said, "The gods made thee, O Agni, the first man (*āyu*) to man (*āyu*), and the prince (*viśpati*) of *Nahusha*; they made Iṣa the instructress of Manusha; and in vii, 95, 2, Sarasvatī is described as milking forth butter and milk for the descendant of Nahush.

The descendants of Nahush can scarcely, therefore, have been regarded by the Aryyas as aliens from their race and worship.

Waiving the question above raised, whether or not any races

distinct from the Aryyas were included among the descendants of Manu, there is no doubt that he was regarded as the progenitor of the Aryyas at least. But it is not merely in the hymns of the Veda that we find proof of his being originally so regarded. In the Satapatha Brahmana also, and in the Mahābhārata, there is evidence to the same effect in the legend of the Deluge, which occurs in both these works. As this legend is given at length in several publications,<sup>1</sup> I need not introduce it here at length, but will merely abstract its most important points. According to the story in the Brāhmana, a fish came to Manu,<sup>2</sup> and asked to be preserved by being placed, first in a jar, and then successively in a trench and in the ocean, as it grew larger and larger. In return it promised him deliverance from a flood which was to come upon the earth, and sweep away all living creatures. Manu did as he was desired, and when the flood came he embarked in a ship which he had constructed, and fastened the cable to the horn of the fish which swam near him. He was thus conducted over the northern mountain, from which he descended as the waters abated. Now "the flood," as the legend goes on to say, "had carried away all these creatures, and Manu alone was left here. Being desirous of offspring," he performed a religious rite, and in a year a female was born, who called herself Manu's daughter. In her company he renewed his religious observances, and "begot with her this race which is called the offspring of Manu." This testimony to Manu being regarded as the progenitor of the Aryan Indians is sufficiently clear.

In the same way it is related in the Mahābhārata (Vana-parva, vv. 12746—12802) that when Manu Vaivaswata was performing austerity, a fish came and claimed his protection; and was, in consequence, placed by him in a jar, in a pond, in the river Gauges, and in the sea successively, as it grew larger and larger. When thrown into the sea, the fish announced to Manu the approaching deluge, and desired him to have a ship constructed in which he should embark, taking with him the seven rishis, and all the seeds as formerly described by Brahmans, separately preserved. Manu did as he was enjoined; taking all the seeds he embarked in the ship, and meditated on the fish, which arrived, and after the ship's

<sup>1</sup> Weber's Indische Studien, i, 163 ff.; Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp 425 ff.; my Sanskrit Texts, ii, 325 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In this passage Manu receives no title. In Book xiii, 4, 3, 3, of the same Brahmana, however, a King Manu Vaivaswata is spoken of, of whom men are the subjects.

cable had been attached to its horn, it drew the vessel for many years over the ocean, and brought it to the highest peak of the Himālaya. The rishis there fastened the ship according to the command of the fish, who then revealed himself to them as *Brahmā Prajāpati*; and enjoined that "all beings, gods, asuras, men, and all worlds, including things moveable and immoveable, should be created by Manu." Manu accordingly, after performing rigorous austerity, began to create all beings.

Though Manu is here represented not as the progenitor of men, but as the creator of all beings, the legend even in this form corroborates the supposition that he was originally regarded as the ancestor of the Aryyan Indians. The story, as contained in the *Mahābhārata*, includes some details which do not occur in the version given in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and which brings the account into closer accordance with the Semitic form of the legend, as preserved in the book of *Genesis*. These details are: 1st. That Manu was accompanied by the seven rishis, who made up with himself eight persons,—the same number as Noah, with his wife, and his three sons and their three wives. 2nd. That Manu took with him all the seeds, just as Noah is said to have taken pairs of different animals with him into the ark. In another respect, viz., in describing Manu as having offered sacrifice immediately after his deliverance from the deluge, the *Brāhmaṇa* coincides more nearly than the *Mahābhārata* with *Genesis* viii, 20; where Noah is also represented as having offered burnt offerings. The only feature of the story in the *Mahābhārata*, which answers at all to the sacrifice, is the austerity which Manu is said to have performed before he began to create.

Although the particulars to which I have alluded (regarding the seven rishis and the seeds) are omitted in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, it does not necessarily follow that these details were invented by the author of the account given in the *Mahābhārata*. It is, no doubt, true, that in most instances the transformations which we find the older legends to have undergone in the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas*, are entirely due to the imagination of the later writers; but this need not have been always the case; and it is, therefore, quite possible that the particulars to which I refer may have been borrowed by the writer in the *Mahābhārata* from some other more ancient work now no longer extant.<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that no

<sup>1</sup> I find that the same idea has occurred independently to M. Pictet, whose observations on this subject (*Origines Indo Européennes*, ii, 616) I had not read when the remarks in the text were written.



subsequent mention is made in the sequel of the story of Manu having made any use of the seeds which he took with him for the purpose of aiding him in the restoration of the world which had been destroyed by the deluge.<sup>1</sup>

But was it the Aryyan Indians only who looked upon Manu, or Manush, as the progenitor of their race, or was this belief shared by the other branches of the Indo-Germanic race? On this subject Professor Roth observes (*Journal of the German Oriental Society*, vol. iv, p. 430):—"But Manu, 'the intelligent,' or 'the man' absolutely, is the prototype of men endowed with reason. In the Veda he is frequently called 'father Manu,' but without the more particular features of a mythical personification, for he is without lineage, attributes, &c. He represents the intelligent man, who understands how to order himself upon earth, and especially how to place himself in the proper relation to the gods; he kindles the fire of the altar; knows how to obtain celestial means of healing; and is able to bequeath benefits of this description to his descendants. The absence of the word in Zend, not merely as a proper name, but also as a designation of man, leads us to conclude that Manu is not a creation common to both the Aryyan races (*i. e.*, the Persians and the Indians) in this primeval period, but a more recent Indian creation."

In his *Indische Studien*, however (see vol. i, 194 ff.), Prof. Weber expresses a different opinion. After referring to Burnouf's discussion (in the preface to the third volume of his *Bhāgavata Pur.*) of the sense of the word Manu in the *Rigveda*, he goes on to remark that that author "goes too far when he asserts that Manu had not then yet become a proper name, since comparative mythology will scarcely consent to separate King Manu from King Minos (not to adduce anything further); the representation which lies at the foundation of both personages must rather have been formed before the separation of the Indo-Germanic races."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In a note to a passage which I have quoted above, p. 407, from the *Rigveda*, ii, 33, 13, where Manu is said to have "chosen certain remedies," Prof. Wilson remarks: "This alludes, no doubt, to the vegetable seeds which Manu, according to the *Mahābhārata*, was directed to take with him into the vessel in which he was preserved at the time of the deluge; the allusion is the more worthy of notice, that this particular incident is not mentioned in the narrative that is given of the event in the *Śatapatha Brahmana*." See also the introduction to the same volume, p. x. The commentator, however, is silent as to any reference being made in this passage to the seeds taken by Manu into the ship; which, besides, are said to have been "all the seeds, as declared before by the *Brahmans*."

<sup>2</sup> Weber goes on (p. 195) to quote two texts of the White *Yajur-veda*, where

In the same passage Weber refers to various other texts relating to Manu, and among others to the following:—

S. P. Br., i, 1, 4, 14 ff. (p. 9 of Weber's ed.) "Manu had a bull, in which resided a voice which destroyed Asuras and enemies. From its snorting and roaring the Asuras and Rāxasas were being destroyed. The Asuras said, 'This bull, alas! is doing us evil; how can we destroy it?' Kilāta and Ākuli were the priests of the Asuras. They said, 'Manu is full of faith (*śraddhā-devaḥ* = *śraddhāiva devo yasya sa śraddhā-devaḥ śraddhātuh*. *Comm.*); let us know (try) him.' They came and said, 'Manu, let us sacrifice for thee.' 'With what offering?' asked Manu. 'With this bull,' they answered. He answered, 'So be it.' The voice issued forth from the bull when it was sacrificed, and entered into Manāvi, Manu's own wife. Wherever they heard her speaking, the Asuras and Rāxasas were destroyed. The Asuras said, 'It brings us now still greater evil, for the human voice speaks more.' Kilāta and Ākuli said, 'Manu is full of faith, let us know (try) him.' They came and said, 'Manu, let us sacrifice for thee.' 'With what offering?' inquired Manu. 'With this, thy wife,' they replied. 'So be it,' he answered. The voice issued forth from her when sacrificed, and entered into the sacrifice and sacrificial vessels. The two Asura priests could not drive it (the voice) out thence; it is it which sounds, destroying Asuras," &c.<sup>1</sup>

It has been remarked by various authors (as Kuhn, *Zeitschrift*, iv, 94 f.), that in analogy with Manu, or Manush, as the father of mankind, or of the Aryyas, German mythology recognises Mannus as the ancestor of the Teutons. Tacitus says, *Germania*, 2. *Celebrant carminibus antiquis Tuisconem deum terrā editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tres filios assignant, &c.*

The English "man," and the German "Mann," appear also to be akin to the word *mam*, and the German "Mensch" presents a close resemblance to *manush*.

he considers that Manu must be treated as a proper name, viz., xi, 66, "Hail to the Prajapati Manu;" and 37, 12, "Thou art Manu's mare;" on which last text the Śatapatha Brahmana adduces a myth in the following words, "This (earth) became a mare, and carried Manu."

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Weber in the *Journal of the German Or. Society*, vol. 4, p. 302, who remarks in a note that this bull of Manu is compared by Dr. Kuhn to the Greek Minotaur; but that though the resemblance is at first sight manifest, considerable difficulties arise when the two stories are compared more in detail. See Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für Vergl. Sprachf.*, iv, 91 ff.